SN 563 [795] all Buddhists) they have a strong feeling of belonging together. Nevertheless the Mongols are fully aware that their former power is declining more and more every decade and that their pastures are constantly diminishing because of the encroachment of agriculture and Chinese migration pressure. The establishment of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (to which the Edzin Gol and Alashan areas have recently been added) and the organization of several autonomous chou for the Mongols of Sinkiang, Kansu and Chinghai, might restore to a small degree the hope for recovery of their lost strength and political power, a hope which has been stimulated during the Sino-Japanese war. In addition, the organization of those autonomies will certainly raise their feeling of security, and might east the widespread desperation of Mongolian leaders who have anticipated the final decline of the Mongols as an ethnic group and a linguistic unit because of rapid sinification and loss of pasture land, and therefore loss of cattle, the only SN 563 668 1177 life resource of the average Mongol. It is difficult to say what effect the Communist regime will have on the ethnic group of the Mongols. So far, the Mongolian indigenous culture has been fostered by the Communist regime, but there is little doubt that, when it comes, the complete transition of the Mongolian society into a Communistic society will not be carried out without resistance and ensuing hatred. It is unthinkable that the average Mongol, who for centuries has adhered to the simple pattern of nomadic life (owning cattle individually and only pastures collectively) will agree with the policy of bolshevization. It can be easily conceived that deprivation of their cattle will mean the end of the nomadic Mongolian society as such. What has been said about the Mongols may very well be true also for the Kazakhs and Kirghiz.

SN IV. Dominant Social Motives.

● 181 The dominant social motive of the average citizen of the Northwest depends largely on his ethnic group affiliation. Starting with the majority, the Chinese, it should be repeated that they are diligent and industrious farmers whose whole energies must be used in order to maintain their families, who SN 181 771 [769] coogeratively toil in the fields and earn just enough to live on. In such a setup little room is left for cultural and religious ambitions, although ancestor worship is sincerely practiced it is difficult to say whether this kind of worship is a true religious phenomenon or only a reflection of the traditional respect toward elders and parents. The religious behavior

of the average Chinese seems to be fatalistic, considering Providence or Heaven to determine his fortune in life. In general, the average Chinese is rather indifferent in religious matters, although he might be sensitive if someone looked askance on his belief in local spirits, demons, and gods, but this is merely a matter of tradition rather than religion.

The Chinese is strongly individualistic and usually dislikes to be ordered around and governed; he ardently defends his own opinions. His inclination for social groupings is obvious. Wherever Chinese live, they soon form integrated communities and at times of distress or in critical situations they are ready to help each other collectively, a characteristic tendency found especially within the extended family, which as a rule feels itself responsible as a whole for debts, misdeeds, etc., of any member. The Chinese are reported to be basically anti-militaristic, although this may be more a traditional attitude of the literati than a sound fact, considering only the last fifty years of Chinese history. However, a Chinese proverb says, "From good iron do not make nails; from good men do not make soldiers." To toil his fields in peace, to make a living this way, and to raise his children, whom he deeply loves, and not to be interfered with by state and government, can be described as the average conception of the "good life." The average Chinese of the Northwest lives in simple mud or stone houses (in the Yellow River area, caves of the adjacent loess hills), stove, k'ang, and ancestor altar being almost the only furniture.

Culture, art, and literature were primarily fostered by the richer merchants, land and water owners, and, or course, the officials and scholars. These groups represented, up to 1949, an economically powerful class who owned a considerable part of the land and the water rights. Chinese officials of the frontier provinces had a reputation for being extremely money-minded. The Chinese gentry, consisting of former officials and degree holders, who were in many cases at the same time holders of land or watter rights, have been abolished as a class, while large parts of the academic strata, the intelligentsia, became more or less the Communist avantgarde of China, showing the same phenomenon which appeared in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, etc., before and during the Second World War, where the intelligentsia showed a deep inclination towards Communism.

In regard to the nomadic minorities of the Northwest (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Mongols and Tibetans) the dominant social motives are two fold, and can be subdivided into an economic and a religious one, equally strong. The whole economic life of the nomads is centered around their livestock. The nomad's life

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Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

S N 563 233 [423] [476] V Individualistic and Collectivistic Bents and Traditions

The nomadic society of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs and Mongols shows collectivistic trends insofar as the pastures are always owned collectively and the livestock can be taken care of and protected only cooperatively. In periods of war and uprisings, the livestock had to be protected militarily, which was one reason why the military organization of the nomads, introduced by Chingis Khan, survived up to the twentieth century. Here we can say that the nomadic Kirghiz and Kazakh still shows a tremendous martial spirit, especially the Kazakhs who fought the Communists in 1949 and 1950 in a heroic way in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered from the very beginning. 3 81

N S 563 181 As a matter of fact, the Mongols show much less martial spirit than neighboring Kirghiz, Kazakh and especially Tibetans, who constantly rise up here and there, becoming a major nuisance for Peking, although they are hopelessly outnumbered by Chinese Communist Troops. Many explorers agree independently that the Mongols, once intrepid, dauntless, unafraid, frightful and terrifying warriors, make now the impression of being inefficient soldiers, timid, downhearted, and discouraged (so Rockhill, Howorth, Tafel, Vladimirtsov, Hedin, Futterer, and Filchner). Russian scholars, above all B. Vladimirtsov in his Le Regime Social Des Mongols, Le feodalisme Nomade, Paris 1948, blame Buddhism for the disappearance of the martial spirit and courage of the Mongols. This opinion is, however, contradicted by the fact that Tibetans, who have been influenced by Buddhism some centuries longer than the Mongols, are well-known as tough and cunning fighters and apparently fearless and daring insurgents.

S N 563 181 971 114

N 563 992 Almost every Tibetan family has at least one son in a monastery. They faithfully pay their tributes to these monasteries where their sons live as novices or monks. The monasteries are the only cultural centers of the nomads. Kumbum might be named as a magnificent example in regard to external architectural beauty as well as internal wealth in respect to its library, printing house, and the spiritual value of its schools and its Lamaistic academies.

S N 563 668 233 [361] There are many reasons to believe that the Communist regime is determined to abolish nomadism and to make the nomads sedentary or at least semi-sedentary. The first step was the erection of permanent winter sites. The attitude of the nomads toward the regime seems to be ambivalent. The erection of veterinary stations for the livestock and the extension of additional irrigated pastures certainly are measures approved by the nomads but on the other hand the threatening

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deprivation of livestock and the progressing industrialization are certain to be the source of increasing discontent among the nomads.

In summing up, the nomads are extremely freedom-conscious. Freedom of the individual is expressed by the everlasting dream of every nomad which finds its expression in the conception of the free rider who recognizes nothing but "the eternal power of the eternal heaven" (Mongolian saying), and who possesses nothing but his felt tent, his highly esteemed and valued horses and his herds. But, no doubt, the Communists will succeed as they did in Soviet Russia in destroying the picture of the independent rider of the steppes of Central Asia, the cradle of so many different peoples and magnificent cultures.

Within their own social structure and social units, the Nomads combine harmoniously individualistic and collectivistic trends of their pattern of life. Communistic collectivization can be imposed upon them by force, of course, but they will hardly accept it in their minds.

VI. Approach to Individual and National Problems

The nomads of the Northwest work hard for their existence. It is easily understood that they need their whole energy for maintaining such a life, which is a constant struggle against the hardships of land, weather and against the centuries-old uncertain political environment. Under such circumstances the nomads developed very realistic minds. A realistic mind is implicitly logical in regard to political or daily matters of life, although the realization of the unpredictable inclemencies or favors of surrounding Nature gave rise to an illogical or, in terms of Jung's depth philosophy, a translogical conception of the relationship between man and Nature, whose favorable or unfavorable phenomena were brought into connection with their "good andbad" deeds, whereby "good and bad" do not have the same connotation as they do in our society; polygamy in the case of the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Eastern Turks, polyandry in the case of the Tibetans, or murder of a personal dependent in the case of Kazakhs, for example, are never considered as "bad" deeds, but killing a louse, in the case of a Mongol, or killing of a yak calf (even if it is sick or hurt) in the case of Tibetans, are considered "bad" deeds.

The nomadic Muslims (Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Salars and some Islamized Tibetan clans) as well as the sedentary Muslims (New-Uighurs, Uzbeks, Tatars, Tajiks, Chinese Muslims or Dungans) have on account of their religion a rather doctrinal

in the case of Tibetans more than in the case of the Mongols and Turks.

While the attitude of the average Northwest Chinese is rather indifferent to national problems, at least as long as his economic position is not unfavorably affected, his approach to individual problems is characterized by a distinct realism and opportunism.

The provinces of Kansu and Shensi, almost exclusively populated by Chinese, are, in comparison with the provinces of China proper, less progressive in regard to education and general living standard; therefore the frontier Chinese is more conservative but also more suspicious and distrustful when faced with innovations and reforms. He relies more upon himself, seeking and expecting less help from the bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the frontier Chinese can be divided into the following groups: the descendants of those who were exiled and ostracized for political reasons during the Manchu period, further on, the descendants of criminals who were sent to the frontier areas as workmen, and last but not least, the colonist (the overwhelming majority), partly adventurers and desperados and partly surplus population of China proper and finally descendants of former garrison troops and merchants from China proper who were condemned to frontier service, desperately looking for new cultivable land.

Among the Chinese of the Northwest, those living in Shensi and Kansu belong to the oldest settlers. Detached and severed from his old homeland, the frontier Chinese is more versatile and more open-minded towards unusual and unaccustomed situations. The old Confucian ethics in regard to family life and relationship with neighbors is still very strong.

The frontier Chinese is possessed by a romantic feeling for his old country. His position at an outpost in a remote area makes him see the old homeland in an euphemistic light.

The frontier Chinese has to prove true and to stand the test more than the Chinese of China proper, which creates a healthy measure of self criticism without falling into the neurotic error of self-laceration. The frontier Chinese is difficult to influence since he is more unrestrained and less bound to his environment than the Chinese of China proper.

The obvious propagandistic success of the Communists in the Northwest does not contradict the above-mentioned phenomena, because the Communistic propaganda proceeds in an atmosphere of terror and the Chinese, as a born realist and opportunist, inclines to rationalize his pretended acceptance of propaganda.

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V. The Chinese Moslems

*563 795 [162] A. Population

According to Paul Cwick, there are about 100,000 Chinese Moslems living in Sinkiang, about 300,000 in Ning-hsia, about 1,500,000 in Kansu and about 138,000 in Chinghai. For China as a whole the total figure amounts to 3,599,350.

1. Physical characteristics and economic activities

563 795 144 142 The overwhelming majority of Chinese Moslems seem to be of Chinese extraction, but undoubtedly there are Chinese Moslems of Turkish and Indo-European extraction. The latter origin can be deduced from statements made by Father Cwick. He says that many Chinese Moslems of Chinghai have blond hair, blue eyes and prominent eagle-noses. Filchner says that the Hui-hui (the Chinese term for the Moslems) are different from the Chinese, having taller and stronger bodies, oval skull shape and prominent noses.

*563 562 795 181 Fuad Kazak states that the Chinese Moslems (also called Dungans) also differ from the Chinese in terms of their martial tendencies. Certainly their numerous uprising affirm this statement. Father Schram reports some Chinese sayings about the Chinese Moslems: "One Moslem asleep is more intelligent than ten wide awake Chinese," or: "The food of the Moslems is tasteful, but their words are not to be trusted," and "out of ten Moslems nine are thieves." All report concordantly that the Chinese Moslems are very eager, keen, shrewd, and successful traders and merchants, farmers and innkeepers. They are known for their skilled salesmanship [441] "in the grain trade and the buying and selling of horses, mules, oxen, sheep, wool, hides and lamb skins." (Schram) [505] The Chinese Moslems also have a near monopoly on the boat and raft traffic of the upper course of the Yellow River.

2. Religion

*563 795 791 Some of the Chinese Moslems believe in the Sunna tradition and part believe in the Shia. Many Chinese Moslems still exercise Sufism (mystical submergence into the idea of God, mystical meditations and so forth). While the Sunna-believers stick to the traditional Islamic interpretation and the commandments of the Koran, the Shia-believers do not recognize hereditary religious leadership. Since everybody "who is graced by God" can become a religious leader, the Shia believers are split into many groups.

3. Relations with other groups

a. Chinese

*563 795 186 The Chinese consider the Chinese Moslems as foreigners and even barbarians. The animosity between these two groups is extraordinarily violent. The Chinese Moslems have never missed an occasion to annihilate the Chinese as, for instance, in the second half of the eighteenth century when the northwest of China

degree that the Tibetan community as a whole exerts an influence on the Chinese migrants within it. The movement of migrants is unilaterally from the Chinese communities into the Tibetan country. The Tibetans go into Chinese sections to visit, but they do not attempt to settle down and make their way among the people. Most of the Chinese who go to the Tibetan sections intend to stay. This one-sided movement of migrants is attributable chiefly to two causes. Population pressure makes the fallow fields of the Tibetan villages very tempting to the land-hungry Chinese. Moreover, for a number of reasons, the Tibetan country is the traditional refuge for the Chinese of nearby communities whenever rebellion or banditry is rife. The Chinese, with their large families, constitute a population reservoir from which the overflow passes into any group which lacks a similarly strong population pressure. The Tibetans, and especially the village people of the Choni district in the Northwest, offer no such resistance, for unquestionably their population is decreasing. Then, the Tibetan country repeatedly has been a most effective shelter for refugees from the Moslem rebellions and from the disturbances caused by bandits and contending armies. In such circumstances the closely-integrated Tibetan community acts more promptly and efficiently to defend itself than does the Chinese community. By habit, the Tibetans are armed to an extent unknown among the Chinese. The Tibetans are rather soft-hearted toward refugees, especially if they are destitute. By Tibetan custom the right of refuge has been a basic one, and when it is reinforced by the claims of acquaintance and the functioning of the "guest-host system" this right of refuge can open a path into the most exclusive Tibetan communities.

The process of contact between the Chinese and the Tibetans is also contained within the mechanics of intermarriage, which is of two kinds: the matrilocal, in which the Chinese man takes his place as son-in-law in the Tibetan home, and the patrilocal, in which through his wife's connections he is able to set up his own home in the Tibetan community. When a young Chinese is taken into a Tibetan home as a son-in-law, he naturally becomes as much like a Tibetan as he can. If other factors do not bring him into further contact with Chinese culture, he may become very much of a Tibetan. His children will be brought up as Tibetans. After a generation or two only a Tibetan nickname may remain to indicate the Chinese ancestry in the family. However, when a Chinese man marries a Tibetan wife and establishes his own home, he generally attempts to set up a Chinese home and to maintain the Chinese mode of living and outlook. This is true especially if any Chinese members of his family - mother, brothers, or other relatives live with him. Thus, the family serves to push the Chinese frontier into the Tibetan country. A single Chinese living in a Tibetan community sooner

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SOCIAL VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING

I. Introduction

121 The Northwest region of China is a most complex subject with
181 which to deal as far as its people, customs and social values
83 are concerned. There has been little or no systematic research done in the past pertaining to the lives of the people in this region. The information available is mostly fragmentary, from writers whose interest was largely in the political, economic and geographic realms rather than in the cultural and social. Moreover, the few traveler-writers who exerted an effort to observe the cultural and social aspects of the people's lives described only those events in which they themselves had a chance to participate. For instance, data on dwellings, food and clothing are more readily available than data which might afford insight into social values. Birth, marriage and burial are more often recorded than other aspects of life routine which yield understanding of moral, legal and ethical concepts. Hence, there is no choice but to discuss social values and customs together in some instances and discard a rigid application of the two terms. As our definition of customs states that the term embraces all the norms classified as folkways and mores, and our definition of social values states that they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants, it is permissible here, for the sake of convenience, to treat customs as social values and vice versa. It must be pointed out that when the social values of a group of people can be ascertained, the two entities are dealt with separately.

Because of lack of information, no uniformity in discussion can be achieved. However, an effort is made to give, in the beginning, a general picture of various people in this region, to bring forth similarities and differences in the various cultures which may help to throw some light on the understanding of the people in this region.

Although we have used the terms "social value" and "custom" here in a more flexible manner, it does not permit us to divert our attention beyond the definitions given for such terms. We have followed very closely the original meaning of the definitions except under certain conditions when such diversion was deemed necessary. As this is the case, it is necessary here to redefine the terms more fully.

121 Broadly speaking, "custom" is a term embracing all the
183 norms classified as folkways and mores. It connotes an established usage which is contrasted with what is new. That is, a

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121 183 custom is "the customary way of doing things." Specifically, custom is an established norm practiced and repeated by a multitude of generations. It is closely associated with folkways and mores, but it designates the traditional, autonomic, mass character of both.

121 181 Social values are defined as modes of conduct regarded as matters of common welfare by an effective consensus of the group. they are such matters as prove to be meaningful, systematic ideas, and become effectively invested principles which guide behavior. Above all, they are matters of convention invested with effect and meaning for all participants.

It should be pointed out that any value is a preference. We must bear in mind that cultural standardization defines and limits choices, and duration of values depends upon the prestige of values it carries.

II. The Region and the People

121 128 Prior to the discussion of the region and the people, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that the general discussion of this section and the following section cover only the pre-Republican period and the period of the Chinese Nationalist administration on the mainland of China. Knowledge of social change in this region under Communist control is lacking, and there is no reliable information pertaining to the true picture of living conditions there. According to Communist propaganda [668] there have been tremendous improvements in every aspect of the people's livelihood. These "improvements," however, do not necessarily bring about a basic change in habits, social customs or traditions. No conclusions can be ventured here.

121 563 In the Northwest region of China one finds Han Chinese, Chinese Moslems, Turks, Mongols and Tibetans. People of different races, though living under identical geographical conditions, each group constructs its homes on the traditional pattern handed down by its ancestors. Each retains much of the old family traditions. The altered conditions called for by circumstances are mostly superficial.

For centuries the people in this area have been largely nomadic, i.e., the Mongols and Tibetans. Their life is simple and mobile; the tribesmen cling to tent living. Those who mix with [199] the Han Chinese have assimilated some aspects of Chinese culture. For the most part the Han Chinese of the area are poor farmers or traveling merchants who carry on caravan trade. The Chinese Moslems in Chinghai and Sinkiang may be nomadic or sedentary; they cultivate land where the soil is fit for farming, or they move with the seasons to pasture for their animals. In Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia, the Moslems who live among the

/The Han Chinese/

with the fur side inside.

The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradition. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the details of family life and holds the members together, not so much by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility within the clan.

At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obeisance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relationships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted to him, to hand down to posterity.

The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera, are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the people of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funerals and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The attitude toward life is more practical because of poverty and necessary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite resulting financial worries.

B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

1. The People

Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word, but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chinese Moslems.

These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers. In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who, except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated by the Chinese.

The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are considered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other Northerners are never without it.

/The Tibetans/

*563 [197] race, the Hsi-fans of the country west of T'ao-chao speak the Tibetan language and are as much Tibetans as the inhabitants of any other portion of the Tibetan plateau. They come into contact [197] with the Koko Nor Mongols farther north, whom they bully and [648] plunder. Unlike the Mongols, who are being pushed back everywhere along the northern borders of China by Chinese agriculturalists, the Tibetans of the Kansu border hold their own against the Chinese colonists. The northeastern Tibetans are [181] truculent and independent as compared to the Mongols, and they take readily and successfully to farming.

[142] These appear to be two physical types in Tibet, the short, round-faced Mongoloid type, and the tall Aryan type with prominent features. The latter type is common among the Tibetans of [291] Amdo. The eastern Tibetan, even though he is in Chinese dress, [772] may be readily recognized by his peculiar habit of standing with [516] his feet turned out at right angles to his body.

[181] On the whole, these people are hardy, independent, and cautious with strangers, but they are also notably hospitable.

2. Patterns of living

*563 342 a. Dwelling

Like all nomads, the Tibetans have no fixed homes. They live in rectangular tents usually made of yak hair instead of felt, with wooden framework. The bottoms of the tents are made fast with iron pins or animal horns. Mud, stone or dry dung is built up around the tent to keep off wind and snow.

*563 342 352 353 The interior arrangement varies little from tent to tent. A mud stove is in the middle, a Buddha image at the left side. On wooden shelves along the walls are chests and boxes where food and clothing are stored. Skin bags of butter, tsamba or flour, and saddles and rifles also hang along the walls. Shelves on the right side hold pans, water buckets, kettles, bowls, cups, a [237] stone mill and a few skin bags. Near the door there is usually a [372] heap of dried ox dung for fuel.

b. Food

*563 262 [241] [489] Farm products do not grow in the cold climate and high altitude, and transportation is difficult. Thus there is little variety in foodstuffs, and eating and drinking are simple functions. The daily fare is beef, mutton and other domestic meats, fresh and sour milk, butter, cheese, noodles, tsamba (parched barley meal) and tea.

*563 264 [262] There are no regular meal times in most households. In winter when the days are short, they may eat three meals a day; in spring and summer, perhaps four or five. During the day they eat tsamba and sour milk. The evening meal is noodles with boiled beef or mutton, though the poor can have noodles and beef less often.

Rich and poor eat with their hands, though the Tu-kung (chief

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/The Tibetans/

3. Social values and customs

*563 a. Virtue
*181 Early social values and customs of the Tibetans were derived
579 from their religious code and legal concepts. Their leading forefathers formulated a set of virtues for the laity, which bound them together as a people, and it is said that these virtues are still the basic moral code of the Tibetans.

The sixteen early Tibetan virtues are: "To have faith in 'The Chief Rare Ones' (Kön-chok); to perform religious observances and to study; to honor one's parents; to respect the virtuous; to honor elders as well as those of high birth; to pay heed to relatives and friends; to be useful to one's country; to be honest; to realize the proper use of food and wealth; to follow the examples of those who are good; to show gratitude to benefactors and to return their kindness; to use correct weights and measures; to be free from jealousy and to be at harmony with all; not to listen to the words of women; to be gentle in speech and acquire skill in conversation; to bear sufferings and distress with patience and meekness." (Bell 1928:II.)

*563 b. Etiquette
576 In Tibetan etiquette, the presentation of a katag may not be
431 made except in the presence of others. The katag is a small
[822] rectangular scarf, always white, green or blue. The white is considered the most respectful. The katag of thin raw silk is used at common social occasions, or presented to a living Buddha or a Buddha image. Another type is made of silk or satin with designs of a Buddha on it. This type is used solely for an audience with a high living Buddha or a high official, or presented to a Buddha image to show reverence.

When one visits relatives or has an audience with a Living
[574] Buddha or high official, the katag is presented first. The recipient will give one in exchange, but perhaps not until the return
[554] visit. The manner of presenting the katag varies with rank. For one of higher rank, such as an elder, t'u-kung or Living Buddha, the giver presents the katag with both hands. The receiver may not receive it personally, however, so the giver places it under the dignitary's chair and backs out. Two persons of equal rank simply hand the katags to each other. A person of high rank grants a katag to a less exalted person, he ties it around his neck. If there are other gifts, they may be placed on the top of a katag.

*563 Strict etiquette surrounds a social visit. When a visitor ap-
574 proaches a tent, he should call loudly to his host (for protection
576 from the dogs). The host appears to greet the guest, and allows the guest to walk before him into the tent. Host or hostess lays a sheepskin or felt on the ground for a seat. The left side of the tent is the honored side. Hostess and women guests occupy the

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

484 712 cities and the great waterways of China, and had traversed her wide plains by the iron track at speed which seemed fabulous to the owners of these little shops. The static inhabitants saw them come, heard them talk, watched them go, but failed to understand the matters of which they spoke, for, to them everything which they had never seen was unreal, vague, remote and seemed to bear no relation to daily life. Enough for them that today they 32 had sold three boxes of matches, two packets of cigarettes and handful of salt. They cared little for travellers' tales and probably believed none of them....

712 512 [701] [352] [276] The restless soldiers of the garrison rushed to and from the large town, but the old inhabitants cared for none of these things, and when the fortress gates were closed each night they put up the shutters of the little shops and crept under miserable coverlets to lie on the mud kangs, fill their opium pipes and escape into the land of illusion and dreams, which was the only wider horizon that they knew." (pp. 17-20).

361 443 [186] While she was visiting in Tun-huang Miss Cable observed: "The people of Tunwhang (Tun-huang) viewed themselves as the elite of Gobi land, and were abnormally proud of their oasis. They had plenty of money to spend and opened their markets freely to goods from other places, but prided themselves on being a self-supporting community, not only in respect of food, but also in regard to brides and bridegrooms, and they did not approve of marriages arranged between their own children and those of other towns." (ibid.) The people in this district were very conservative. 181 436 441 "One sign of its deep-seated conservatism," observed Miss Cable, "was the backward system of money exchange which it retained. Long after the silver dollar had become the common basis of coinage on the main road, Tunhwang businessmen looked askance at it, and preferred the shoe of silver which was chipped down, weighed up and exchanged for copper coinage. Here again Tunhwang set its standard by allowing one hundred worn and valueless cash to be introduced into each string of a thousand. It became therefore worthwhile to collect these useless copers in other towns, cart them to Tunhwang and dispose of them there. When the reluctance to admit the silver dollar was finally overcome, merchants still discriminated between different issues and refused one or the other according to fancy. The coin stamped with the dragon was depreciated in favor of one designated as the 'standing man' which was Hongkong currency. The dollar bearing the head of Yuan Shih-kai found favor, and for some reason the third-year issue was more highly valued than any other, but when a new coin stamped with the head of Sun Yat-sen appeared, this Gobi town absolutely refused to recognize it because the new president's effigy was small and unimpressive. No other explanation was offered than the words 'The head seems small', but no one would use it.

/Chinese, Chinese Moslems and Sedentary Tibetans/

181 436 use it. In this little backwater town large business deals were effected, but each roll of dollars received for payment was opened, the contents carefully examined, and the individual coins valued a little higher or a little lower according to the Tunhwang standard." (pp. 69-70).

423 181 369 The landowners in the Tunhwang district are mainly Chinese whose ancestors were established here very long ago. The Chinese farmers are more conservative than the town folks. The rural rural pattern here is different from that of other parts of the Northwest. 241 36 Here the farmsteads are dotted over the area, each stands in the center of its own land and each at a considerable distance from the other. The larger farms are surrounded by a high wall [351] which is a small fortification, and inside the wall is a substantial [342] house made of sun-dried bricks and excellent timber. Most of [621] the farmsteads are spacious and built to accommodate large num- [614] bers of people, for it is customary that all the members of a clan live together in their generations.

631 The author of The Gobi Desert recorded another interesting feature of the Tunhwang oasis. The record says that Tunhwang is divided into as many sections as there are prefectures in the whole of the province of Kansu. Its colonization brought men from all areas, who were anxious to honor the cities which they represented, by erecting temple buildings. The result is that the traveller wanders through the oasis as through a replica of the whole province of Kansu, stepping from the section called after the town of Chingchow to that called Liangchow, from Kaotai to Pingfan, or from Pingliang to Titao, in the course of an afternoon [532] stroll. Near one of these temples was a very old carved stone [172] figure of a man, which was not an idol but was said to represent a historic personage.

157 485 [511] Of the Chinese people of the wayside in the Gobi Desert Miss Cable writes: "The intense isolation of the inhabitant of a small oasis, and the extraordinarily low standard of life imposed upon him, produce a strange mentality. His normal condition is torpor. He sits or lies on his mud bed and thinks of nothing. Only when a traveler arrives does he experience the discomfort of rousing himself, but then though it may be cold or windy, he must leave the pleasant stuffiness of his bed-living-room, throw off the greasy coverlet which he has drawn over his crossed legs, come into the open and give the service, which is demanded of him as innkeeper. The life of the innkeeper's wife is more bare and poor. Clothing, which has some place in the thought of nearly every woman, is, to her, absolutely nothing but a protection from cold and a covering for her nakedness. The other incidents of her life are concerned with food and the birth of her children. She knows that her husband has some money, but she has never thought of money as a means of securing comforts

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apparent trade of innkeeping was simply a cover for another and more lucrative business." (p. 73).

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Like the Chinese, the sinicized Moslems are very much concerned with the problem of offspring. To them continuity of life is bound up with that prolongation of existence which a son secures, one who carries on the life which he owes to his parents. This is a completely Chinese concept. The Chinese-speaking Moslems cannot understand and would certainly not accept the Christian faith that life after death is God's gift, that one does not depend upon a son and his worship, and that immortality means the soul or spirit living eternally in Heaven. Miss Cable records in her book: "We talked often of these things, but it was hard for them to understand what I told them, and they would turn it off with one excuse or another. 'She is different from us', they said, 'her life is given up to God's work and her merit will secure her an entrance to Paradise'. Some envied, some pitied, some just stared and made no effort to understand, others summed it up in these words: 'Eastern ways are for the East, Western ways are for the West.'" (p. 75).

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The Chinese-speaking Moslems in the Northwest, in spite of their having taken up a considerable amount of the Chinese way of life, are deeply conscious of racial and religious inadaptability to Chinese rules. Most of them are always rebellious. They alwasy think that they are oppressed or unfairly treated by the Chinese authorities. For this reason, Moslem revolts occur in the Northwest frequently. For example, the immediate cause of the the 1930 revolt was, according to Miss Cable's account, the suspicion of the Moslems that the Chinese Government was to change their age-old social and political system and that the Chinese population in the area goat many advantages at the expense of the Moslems. Up to 1930 the Moslems in the Hami district of Sinkiang were always governed by a ruler of their own race, religion and speech. The last one of their rulers was Khan Maksud Shah. This ruler died during the year 1930. The Chinese Sinkiang Government took this opportunity to end the Moslem system and the succession of the Khan was not allowed to continue. Maksud's son, Nazir, heir to the throne was summoned to report at Urumchi, then capital of the Sinkiang Provincial Government, and Yolbars, the Tiger Prince, was ordered to appear with him. This was bad news for the Moslem inhabitants. Later, a word came from the capital that the young prince had been made a prisoner in his own lodging, and that there were to be many changes in the standing of the Turki people. When Yolbars returned to Hami he left Nazir in Urumchi, and arrived in company with a band of Chinese officials who at once sat down to business and drew up a list of changes which were to be introduced in the administration of the Moslem community. The old administration

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S 563 642 643 79 79 The old administration of the Khan was not always liked by the Moslems, but he and his people were one, and they understood each other well. His Oriental style of court life was appreciated by the Turkis, and the Khan, by virtue of his hereditary title, was unquestionably accepted by them. There was immediate resentment among the populace at the suggested changes, and the resentment became the more bitter when a great display of highly organized officialdom was made.

S 563 179 631 642 829 [423] At the same time, the whole area of Hami was carefully surveyed and the land redistributed. Three large administrative districts were arranged and given names which dated back to the Han dynasty. The new government was to be wholly in Chinese hands, and the old Khanate system was to vanish. Chinese magistrates were appointed to hear the law cases and Chinese tax-collectors were to levy the dues and convey them to the capital, where they would be allocated to the respective departments. These propositions all seem legitimate to the Chinese authority and they were presented to the people as improved measures of justice; but the Moslems did not like them and had a great deal of suspicion towardsthem. There was also the rumor that some unappropriated land which the Turki farmers would have liked to use was given to the Chinese and that arrears of taxes from which the Chinese were exempt were demanded from Moslem landowners.

S [669] Suddenly that dangerous thing so well known to the Oriental as a "breath of fury" rose fiercely among men who had hitherto dealt only with their own Khan, and they unanimously determined on revolt.

N 829 565 Fan Ch'ang-chiang, a well-known journalist connected with the most influential Chinese daily Ta Kung Pao in the prewar period and now editor of the People's Daily in Peking, reported, after a trip to the Northwest in 1936 through Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, and Ninghsia, that the common people, especially the peasants in

N [651] Kansu, all had a very bad impression of the government. Because there were so many kinds of taxes, the people thought that the government had nothing to do but to collect taxes from the common

N 565 181 562 829 people. The people did not trust the government. In regard to social customs Fan says that the Chinese in Kansu are very conservative in matters which have anything to do with their women. Even middle-aged women of respectable families can hardly have anny opportunity to be seen by or to be spoken to by any man who is not a relative or a neighbor. Young ladies must absolutely not be seen by strangers. Soldiers who have come from the coastal provinces and who are accustomed to more liberal relations between the two sexes were resented by the local people because

N 565 829 181 they acted rather freely toward their women folk. Notwithstanding their bad impression of the government and their resentment toward the "outside" soldiers, the common Chinese in Kansu are

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565 extremely obedient and timid toward the government officials.
829 Anyone who has some connection with the government can com-
181 mand the service and materials of the small people. One who has just a sword may act as a lord in the Chinese rural community. The common people in these communities are too meek and ignorant to resist. The rural people in general are primarily concerned with their food problem. Their attitude toward anything is affected by this problem. Their attitude toward the coming of
565 the Communists, for example, was quite interesting. They were
829 anxious to know how far the Communists were and how great the
668 possibility was of their coming. When they were asked how they
179 felt about the coming of the Communists, the answer was that what they feared mostly about the Communists was that the Communists might eat up all the food they had and then they would be left to starvation. They seemed to believe that the Communists would not persecute them because they were just poor people. They had heard that the people in Szechwan called the Communists the misfortune bringers. It meant that wherever the Communists appeared they would bring misfortune. The Kansu people would not care how sweet the Communist promises might be, if the Communists had to live off the province's scanty food supply, they were not wanted. This shows that the economic conditions in the Northwest, as in other places, had great influence on the people's political attitude.

However, this does not mean that the Chinese peasants in the Northwest care only about their stomach and overlook all else. They also resent the fact that the government officials and the local gentry looked down upon them and treated them as people of little value. It is reported that bad administration of the local government at that time was the reason that the local Communists, led by a man named Liu Tzu-tan, were able to make considerable progress among the peasants in a big territory between the provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. The Communists gave the people many kinds of little or temporary advantages and made all sorts of big promises. At the moment they looked much better than the local government officials and therefore they won the people's confidence and support. It is reported that when the government tried to call the people in the villages to a meeting so they might be enlightened about the government's policy, very few came. But whenever Liu Tzu-tan wanted a mass meeting, the peasants swarmed into wherever the gathering was held. Liu Tzu-tan knew the common people's psychology and their dire needs, and he skillfully played these factors for his purpose. Consequently, his movement was very successful among the rural masses.

423 According to Fan Ch'ang-chiang's report, the Chinese farmers in the areas between Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia were by and large landowners, not tenants. The areas were very thinly populated

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423 and therefore land was abundant. Among the landowners there were quite a few with extremely large holdings. It is reported that the amount of farm and grazing land owned by a family was so big that it was not measured by acre or by any other unit but was simply estimated as reading from this mountain to that mountain, or from this river to that river. Thus these people's attitude toward land must have been different from that of the people in the coastal provinces. They certainly would not treasure their land so much as farmers of other places. This assumption is verified by the fact that the peasants in these areas would easily abandon their farms and migrate to other places whenever the farming business failed to produce an adequate livelihood. Also, merely large landholdings would not necessarily make a (556) person wealthy. It depends very much on whether or not there are irrigation facilities. Without such facilities, the land might mean nothing.

*563 578 Racial relations in the Northwest are very complicated. This complication influenced not only political and social affairs but also people's attitudes toward each other. Fan reports that in the province of Chinghai the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems all considered themselves civilized and thought of the Tibetans and Mongols as primitive tribes. Both the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems claimed that they were people from China Proper, chung-yüan. Between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems in that province there was also much discrimination. The Chinese-speaking Moslems held all the key political, economic, and military positions and they were the predominant group while the Chinese either had no such positions or had only the secondary or insignificant ones. This discrimination had undoubtedly fostered a great deal of bitterness in the Chinese toward the Moslems.

*563 181 183 829 (674) About the Chinese-speaking Moslems in the district of Ho-chou, Kansu, Fan has this to say: The Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou are brave and disposed to fight or to make war. They praise warriors but look down upon literature. They have the characteristics of the ancient Spartan people. In their communities stealing and robbery are not things to be frowned upon, as long as they are not done to their own people. If a person left his community empty-handed and came back after a year or so with a big horse and many precious things he would certainly be lavishly praised by his relatives and neighbors as a hero or a worthy man. Nobody would care to ask how the man acquired his wealth. But if such a man came back without any gain and bore the mark of having been captured and punished for stealing or *563 181 526 robbery, he would be exposed to humiliation. In order to express their warlike spirit and to train their people for fighting and bravery, the Chinese-speaking Moslems in Ho-chou have numerous

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*563 181 526 [593] hunting and racing games. In playing such games all the participants think and act as equal competitors. All social and kinship distinctions disappear. The competition between father and son, if they all participate in the same game, could be just as fierce as that between two other persons.

563 184 In regard to relations between the Chinese and the Chinese-speaking Moslems, the attitude of the people in Ninghsia was quite different from that of people elsewhere. In Ninghsia, the Chinese-speaking Moslem leaders held that the Moslems are not a race different from the Chinese but that they are only a religious group. Because of this attitude the Ninghsia Moslem leaders advised their co-religionists not to undertake any political movement on the basis of race. This attitude eliminated or at least lessened the racial antagonism between the Moslems and the Chinese. Another [178] significant trend to be mentioned here is that the traditional barriers between the Moslems and the Chinese have been melting *563 197 away in recent years. Fan reports that the Moslems in the northern parts of Ninghsia went voluntarily to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language. Some of their religious leaders were alarmed and tried to stop this. But the people answered them by saying: "After our children have gone to Chinese schools and learned the Chinese language they immediately become useful in helping their families to make a living. What is the use of learning the Koran?"

797 Robert B. Ekvall is a Christian missionary who lived in the southeastern parts of the Northwest for many years. He and his wife did evangelistic work mostly among the sedentary Tibetans in the district of the Kansu-Chinghai border. He made numerous observations on the sedentary Tibetans and the Tibetan-influenced 798 Chinese. About the latter, Ekvall says: "In contrast to the violent *563 incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we 795 have Chinese and Tibetans displaying a mutual tolerance in matters of religious belief and practice... the Chinese of the border differ from those already described in that they place a greater emphasis upon Buddhism to the neglect of some aspects of Confucianism. In particular do the more uneducated tend to become almost entirely Buddhistic in observance; the scholars, of course, give greater place to the doctrines of the Sacred Books of Confucian teaching and always refer to themselves as members of the Confucian sect. Also, the Chinese of the border country - possibly influenced by the religious fervor of the Tibetans - appear more religious-minded than their fellow countrymen of the Tiao district." (Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border, p. 33)

*563 621 184 In speaking of the differences between the Chinese and the sedentary Tibetans, Ekvall observes that the Chinese village organization permits a considerable degree of individualism, whereas in the Tibetan village, communal activity completely overshadows

the ground. This pine forest belongs to the monastery and nothing is permitted to disturb its peace. Hares and marmots in great numbers have set up their homes here. No one is permitted[1] to hunt the animals for according to the lamaistic doctrine of the cycle of all living things, it is possible that souls after death may be forced to assume the shape of an animal, that is, be reborn as animals because they did not withstand the temptations of this world. Thus, during their lifetime as human beings they did not achieve perfection and holiness, but retrogressed, and it is believed that these poor souls usually do not travel far but are reborn close at hand. An old priest showed me a marmot which had made its burrow near his house, and assured me in all seriousness: "This was my brother before he died. He was a priest of this monastery and had to assume this animal's body as a punishment for his transgressions."

I visited the Dunkur monastery on April 20, that is, on the twenty-eighth of the third Tibetan moon month, because on this and the following day a fair took place there and the people of the entire vicinity gathered here. People drank, prayed and amused themselves royally. Chinese from Dankar and Hsining had also come, but only as shopkeepers and owners of eating houses. The Chinese is attracted to the Tibetan festivals not for religious reasons but for commercial reasons. The Chinese are not like the Tibetans, blindly trusting everything that the lamas say. To be sure, the Chinaman is also a Buddhist, and remarkably similar to the Tibetan in his faith as well as in his way of life and customs; in fact, perhaps Tibetans and Chinese - especially when both are farmers - feel more kinship with one another than the Chinese and Mohammedans who hate and scorn one another. But as far as character is concerned there is an enormous difference between Chinese and Tibetans even at the border. The Chinese is much more skeptically and critically inclined. He is conscious of being more highly civilized. Even the simplest Chinese farmer feels that he belongs to a privileged race and is a member of a great and rich state. But this higher level of culture has brought with it many cares which the Tibetan, the Fan tse, the barbarian, does not know. The Chinese is like the European, proud of thousands of minor things, all of which, however, only plague him. The majority of Chinese, in their greater struggle for their daily bread, have forfeited a natural simplicity and guilelessness as compared to their neighbors. The Tibetans, especially the nomads, enjoy their pleasures far more. I never saw as many jolly faces at any of the Chinese festivals /282/ as I did at the fairs in Tibet. Indeed, the very love of color of these people and their various customs make one's heart sing.

[1] [i.e., around the Dunkur monastery.—Analyst]